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Genre, Geography and the Question of the National Tale: D. P. Campbell's *Harley*

Radington

Penny Fielding

On Christmas day 1823, William Scott Burn wrote to his friend Arthur Nicolson, a landowner in Shetland:

I wish Mrs. Nicolson and you would think of coming up to the civilized world for the winter months--I should like far better that you would leave Shetland for good and all--I can't guess what satisfaction you can have in drilling in a set of semibarbarous peasantry--and until roads are made so as to enable them to get home their peats without consorting with such a multitude of ponies, they can be little better than wandering Tartars:--I read your Miss Campbell's *Harley Radington* when I was ill--that woman has very considerable talent, and should be encouraged to employ it oftener (MS Letter from W. Scott Burn)

The novel that has supplied Scott Burn with his sickbed reading is *Harley Radington: A Tale* by Dorothea Primrose Campbell (1792-1863), published in 1821. In the year the novel came out, it also took the fancy of Auguste Jean-Baptiste de Fauconpret, who had by then become the chief translator of Scott's novels into French, and who recommends *Harley Radington* as reminiscent of the work of the Author of *Waverley*. De Fauconpret praises the descriptive appeal of Campbell's work: "this novel pleased me greatly, as we find in it a very faithful picture of the manners and superstitions of the inhabitants of Shetland, a little-known country" (206-7).¹

Both these readers, although in different ways, address aspects of the same question: how was Campbell, a talented first-time novelist who had some slight success with her poetry,² to draw her readers into a tale of what was for de Fauconpret "a little-known country" and, for Burn Scott, a distasteful wilderness characterized by a "semibarbarous peasantry" and its proliferation of ponies? Yet despite this unpromising geography, certain generic opportunities presented

themselves to Campbell. As de Fauconpret implies, stories of the Britain that lay outside its metropolitan centers were popular in the form of regional novels and national tales and publishers were ready to capitalize on this market. *Harley Radington* was published by A. K. Newman and Co (though not under the firm's Minerva Press imprint). Newmans had a record of publishing popular Scottish-set novels and had already brought out titles such as *A Romance of the Hebrides* (1809), *The Castle of Caithness* (1802) and *Glencoe Tower* (1806). These are all historical romances purporting to take place in the thirteenth century, but Newmans was also publishing titles that cashed in on a taste for more recent regionalism in the novel. Mary Johnstone's *The Lairds of Glenferri; or the Highlanders of the Nineteenth Century* (1816) points to the popularity of modern versions of Highland life, and, shortly after *Harley Radington*, Sarah Green's *Scotch Novel Reading* (1824) remarks upon a contemporary reading public already "inundated with showers of Scotch novels" (1: 4).³

Campbell's novel was issued under the unassuming title *Harley Radington: A Tale*, but when she appeals to Walter Scott for his patronage in a letter of 21st September 1821 (he was a very distant relative) she writes: "I have published an attempt at a 'Zetland Tale'" (MS Letter from D. P. Campbell). The fluctuation in the subtitle suggests a degree of uncertainty as to whether the genre of the "Zetland Tale" did, or even could, exist. On the one hand, Campbell is thinking of adding her Zetland Tale to those other national tales set in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. On the other, Shetland did not readily fit the geographic criteria for such a genre. If novels set in the regions of Great Britain could meet with a ready market, those regions were not, in 1821, generally supposed to include the Shetland Islands. It was perhaps unfortunate for Campbell that Walter Scott's Shetland-set novel, *The Pirate* appeared the year after her own had appeared to very little public recognition.⁴ But "The Author of Waverley" was always going to

be an infinitely bigger draw than “Miss D. P. Campbell”; *The Pirate*’s success probably owed more to its status as a Waverley Novel than to its setting and it did not inaugurate any further Zetland Tales until much later in the century.⁵ How, then, does *Harley Radington* find a place in regional writing in the early nineteenth century when that writing was already mapped nationally? To publish a “Zetland Tale,” as Campbell thought of her work, is simultaneously to appeal for generic recognition, akin to Owenson’s *Florence Macarthy: An Irish Tale* (1818), and to offer something new. Campbell’s often difficult negotiation between the familiarity of novelistic forms and the strangeness of Shetland tests the limits of generic literary geography, allowing us to revisit the national tale as the genre that would supply early nineteenth-century Britain with an understanding of its own statehood.

The national tale’s customary narrative traces the journey from metropolitan center to “periphery,” but this is not a journey into the unknown. The discovery of secret familial links or the reinforcing of connections through land-ownership emphasize that these peripheries are already inscribed in the cultural geography of Great Britain. Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, the usual destinations of the national tale, reproduced certain characteristics--of a peasantry that could be “improved” by rationalized agriculture and education, of a “wild” Celtic people whose Ossianic tendencies also harbored an uncorrupted sensibility appropriate for their ultimate inclusion in modern Britain.⁶ These novels, then, render ethnographic difference in order to move towards national reconciliation and ultimate union through love and marriage.

If the national tale was a market success partly through its generic and geographical familiarity (the two depending on each other), where does this leave Campbell? The comments of William Scott Burn are not untypical of the way Shetland was regarded in the rest of Great Britain in the early nineteenth century. Geographically remote, far from tourist routes, and not

strongly connected by trade links to the South, Shetland did not greatly feature in the national consciousness.⁷ Arthur Edmondston, author of one of the best known early nineteenth-century accounts of the islands, observes that their “productions, resources, and internal economy, are less generally known than those of the most distant colony of the empire” (1: iv). Walter Scott had visited both Orkney and Shetland in 1814 on his tour with the Commissioners of the Northern Lights to inspect the lighthouses round the coast of Scotland, but his account, in the form of a private diary, was not published until, after Scott’s death, John Gibson Lockhart included it in his *Life* of his father-in-law. Among Scott’s informants on Orkney was the sheriff-substitute, Alexander Peterkin, whose own account of the Northern Islands emphasizes their political detachment from the rest of Great Britain:

Among the numerous anomalies and puzzles in the condition of Orkney and Zetland, the political state of the islands is one of the most singular. The whole of Zetland, comprising about one half of the population ... is absolutely shut out beyond the pale of the constitution; and the only visible marks of the inhabitants being British subjects, are, that they contribute their share of taxes to the public service, and furnish, in seasons of war and alarm, a powerful band of mariners to fight the battles of their country, and to uphold the honour of the British flag. (1: 145)

Peterkin’s comments seem at first to describe the sort of cultural situation that the novel sought to resolve or improve. The transmutation of “wild” Scottish Highlanders living outside British political structures into a disciplined military force asserting British national identity in her imperial wars surfaces in works from Smollett’s *Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) to Christian Isobel Johnson’s *Clan-Albin: A National Tale* (1815). But Campbell faced a demographic problem in introducing her novel into this tradition--Shetland was not Ireland or the Highlands of Scotland and did not obviously fit into the model of the Celtic other, simultaneously romanticized and rendered primitive, that marks the novel of the period. Governed by Norway until 1469, the Shetlanders maintained a Scandinavian character that corresponded clearly to neither part of the title of Christian Isobel Johnson’s 1814 novel *The*

Saxon and the Gael. In short, Campbell had at her disposal a palette of national colors, but no obvious national subject and no immediate historical problem to be solved. Writing of the Irish national tale, Ina Ferris points out: “The matter of grievance is crucial. To present Ireland as an anomaly ... is to present it as a case for deliberation, and thus to move into the foreground the viewing/reading subject as the one who determines and judges” (*Romantic National Tale* 50). The Scottish tale, published conterminously with the Highland clearances, places the reader in the position of determining the role of the Highlands--and the decline of their feudal and economic structure--in a United Britain. But Scotland’s Northern Isles were not inscribed in a recognisable novelistic discourse. Shetland does not establish historical markers in the mind of the reader as Irish and other Scottish regional novels would: no Irish rebellion of 1798 or memory of a Jacobite rising.

Given these circumstances, it would be tempting to assume that a “Zetland tale” could find little purchase in the wider field of the national tale. Yet, despite its generic duplications, there is a risk of homogenising the national tale as a discrete genre when really it remains quite heterogeneous. Even Katie Trumpener’s justly influential and sophisticated reading of the novel in this period sets out a taxonomy and a distinct generic history for the national tale.⁸ Despite the popularity and influence of Sydney Owenson’s *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale* (1806), it is not the case that any single novel came to take on exemplary status, or to offer its plot structure as a model for a homogenized genre, a “Glorvina solution” in which the male representative of metropolitan Britain enacts a politically symbolic marriage with a woman from the Celtic “periphery.”⁹ If we take the genre as paradigmatic for a certain reading of the margins of Britain then we are, perhaps, in danger of marginalising a novel like *Harley Radington*. If, on the other hand, we focus on the provisional nature of the term “national tale” (a label which few such tales

use in their titles) and allow for the heterogeneity of the genre and its lack of clear boundaries with other kinds of writing, then Campbell's "Zetland tale" comes into its own as a novel that exposes what was at stake in the interrelations of genre and geography in the Romantic-period novel. Campbell's "Zetland" occupies a shifting position, as geography mutates under the influence of the various generic influences to which she responds. In her laying bare the techniques of the national tales, despite--or really because of--their lack of fit with Shetland we can learn from *Harley Radington* about the intended social and narrative functions of these techniques.

The national tale is eclectic in its generic relationships, mixing motifs from sentimental and courtship novels, and growing up alongside the historical novel with which it exchanges ideas, themes and tropes. In a simple sense, the regional novel's sheer heterogeneity makes it hard for Campbell to sustain a coherent narrative of evaluation. But to read this situation in its more properly complex modes is to recognize the contrary tensions inherent in the national tale itself as it serves to arbitrate between inclusion and exclusion in a narrative of national unity. The generic boundaries of the national tale blur into the larger category of the regional novel. Not all regional novels are national tales and the broader generic history moves into later nineteenth-century novels by the Brontës or Hardy, less immediately concerned with questions of the homogeneity of the nation.¹⁰ But all national tales are regional novels, and carry within them an in-built instability--their geographical subject is at once the local, the singular and the surprising, and the national, the general and the familiar. That aspect of the national tale that is shared with the agricultural or picturesque tour cannot always be easily incorporated. Ina Ferris argues that the genre both gives to and takes from the reader in its representation of its subjects by the very proliferation of detailed, or "thick" local description that it offers: "the genre is

marked by a dense textuality and tends to thematize the problem of translation itself, so blocking any sense of transparent access to the represented culture” (“Translation” 208-9). *All* national tales have some element of doubling or instability in their national subjects, as they negotiate routes to the homogenization of British ethnicities while underscoring the otherness, or exoticism, of peoples distant from the metropolitan center, and Campbell’s *Zetland* tale shows us how these elements can be held in tension with each other. *Harley Radington* is structured by forays into and retreats from established narrative patterns as it tries out different plot devices, forms of characterisation and conventions of realism in an attempt (ultimately ambivalent) to work out a national significance for Shetland. Campbell juggles the descriptive task of the regional ethnographer and the narrative momentum of the national tale in ways that suggest that there may be generic fissures in the national novel itself.

Gender and Sensibility

Campbell calls on some devices that are familiar in terms of plot if not in those of geography and the story will help us situate the novel within its literary context. *Harley Radington* is the spoiled son of a wealthy London tobacco merchant and his wife, a woman of uncertain “Scotch” origin. Harley’s father dies and his mother makes an unsuitable second marriage (to an Irish bigamist), leaving him penniless. He goes to sea and is shipwrecked on Shetland where he is taken in first by the impoverished Hansons and then by the humble but more respectable Irvingsons who turn out to be his mother’s relations (the two Shetland families are connected by marriage). Most of the novel then takes place on various islands of the Shetland archipelago where Harley witnesses many different aspects of social life and falls in love with the beautiful and virtuous Ellen, daughter of the rich, landed Edenborg family. Harley

falls foul of the villainous and scheming Sanders Lovegold who has him kidnapped by smugglers. He survives this encounter, but soon after it his boat capsizes in a storm and he is rescued by a ship bound for Greenland. After some whaling adventures in the arctic, he makes his way back to Shetland only to discover that Ellen has just died of consumption. Stricken with grief, Harley returns to London and rejoins the Royal Navy where he rises through the ranks and is knighted. He is now Mr Edenburg's heir, and a rich man. Several years later he visits the Highlands and marries Grace Hamilton, the daughter of a Scottish family friend whom he met in London. Apart from one brief visit back to the now widowed Mrs Edenburg, when he discovers that almost everyone he knew has died, Harley does not return to Shetland.

The national tale, famously, raises the stakes of the romance plot. Juliet Shields has shown how the very Union of England and Scotland was popularly discussed in terms of a marriage (with Scotland as bride) throughout the eighteenth century, and national tales, both Scottish and Irish, frequently resolve political disjunctions in family alliances. *Harley Radington's* place in this generic pattern is instructive in terms of the wider extent of Great Britain. On the one hand, the novel seems always to be driving forward its marriage plot in the search for a suitable wife for the hero. It follows a common device for national narratives in tempting the hero with a socially and/or politically improper marriage candidate (Flora McIvor in *Waverley* [1814] or Dora, daughter of King Corny in Edgeworth's *Ormond* [1817]), before celebrating a more appropriate union in national as well as emotional terms. But the final resolution sits less easily in the novel's own narrative structure, in two ways. First, as I will later discuss, Shetland seems unable to deliver a woman who can be incorporated into the narrative of national harmonisation. Secondly, Campbell is unwilling to supply the reader with a gauge against which gender might be measured in the first place--Shetland offers us effeminate men,

sexless women, and a kind of female passion that the novel both rejects on moral grounds and permits on ethnographic ones.

In the early stages of the novel Campbell prepares the ground for a national tale, interweaving this genre (as did the genre itself) with the novel of manners and sensibility. Mrs Radington, Harley's mother, is at pains to divert attention from her "Scotch" origins and to conceal what seem to be even worse--her Shetland ones--giving the experienced reader a substantial hint that the novel shall shortly be moving there. *Harley Radington* follows Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui* (1809) in the motif of the child who discovers his lost birth-family, though substituting Edgeworth's swapped-at-birth plot with Harley's mother's secret origin. Meanwhile, the London society in which Harley moves is the same circle of fashionable trivia and partying that instils the *ennui* into the soul of Edgeworth's Lord Glenthorn. Harley remarks: "I was weary of the dissipated circle in which we moved--I was still more weary of myself" (1: 19-20). *Ennui* (which similarly afflicts the hero of Charles Maturin's *Wild Irish Boy* of 1808) is the symptom of an excessive type of male sensibility; as Marilyn Butler notes, it is a form of hypochondria: "a nervous condition well documented in eighteenth-century medicine and long recognized as the masculine equivalent of the women's ailment hysteria" (32).¹¹ Harley is, in the words of a family friend, "weak, effeminate, indolent" (1: 66), and he refers to himself in the same terms (1: 106, 122). In the early part of the novel, he is virtually the endangered heroine of a tale of social manners, typically spoiled, uneducated, petty and addicted to the false romance of novel-reading:

I flew to books for employment--books of science, of instruction, or knowledge of any kind, were unintelligible to me--books of mere amusement [these are later identified as novels (1: 36)] suited me better, and they became the meagre and poisonous food of my famished mind--they filled my head with false and monstrous ideas of men and things. (1: 20)

Harley must undergo a re-education that preserves his sensibility as an antidote to selfish, atomized London society, while rendering him properly masculine. In his encounters later in the novel with death and poverty, he must become more like his namesake, the Harley of Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771), so that his capacity for feeling can be engaged in productive social cohesion. And Campbell's Harley lives up to his name--strategically placed incidents trace the reinforcement of his natural feeling in sympathetic encounters with various unfortunate characters, while negotiating dastardly attempts to deprive him of his money. But sensibility is here mapped onto a more extended national framework than that of *The Man of Feeling*. Again, Campbell follows the pattern of *Ennui* in addressing the question posed by Edgeworth's Lord Glenthorn:

... educated as I had been, and accustomed to the long enjoyment of those luxuries, which become necessities to the wealthy; habituated to attendance as I had been; and, even amongst the dissipated and idle, notorious for extravagance the most unbounded and indolence the most inveterate; how was I at once to change my habits, to abdicate my rank and power, to encounter the evils of poverty? (278)

Harley offers his experience of Shetland poverty to answer Glenthorn's question: "'Here is true misery, and here is true gratitude,' said I to myself, as I reflected, with a pang of remorse, upon the large sums of money I had once squandered away" (1: 211).

Feeling, as both Juliet Shields and Evan Gottlieb have comprehensively demonstrated, is what underpins the national tale's claim to mediate between nations. If sentiment, following the claims of Scottish Enlightenment moral philosophy, is founded on the recognition of similarities, then national sentiment is that which joins regionally divided subjects. Here *Harley Radington* seems to be tapping into the kind of Burkean national sensibility that Esther Wohlgenut has seen as symptomatic of the national tale: "National identity begins with local attachment and extends outward, encompassing neighborhood, province, and, ultimately, nation" (646). Patriotism is something *felt* rather than given or laid down ideologically, and the recovery of local attachments

in regional fiction leads outwards into an affirmation of the nation unified in organic community. Historically, this was an important focus for Shetland middle-class society which sought to identify national continuities through affective and emotional patriotism rather than through the learned discourses of political statehood. Twin “Zetland Patriotic Societies” were established in Lerwick and London in 1815 and 1816, to encourage benevolent actions and economic improvement. The London society applauded the Lerwick branch for the “liberal and patriotic spirit which has animated its members in so excellent and meritorious an undertaking” (*Plan* 3),¹² an animation also celebrated by the Shetland poet Margaret Chalmers:

Celestial origin we may descry
From the emotions beaming in her eye,
Which fixes on yon philanthropic band,
Planning the welfare of their native land. (138)¹³

This animated philanthropy had its roots in an even more specific form of military patriotism based on sympathetic engagement with the Spanish struggle for national liberation. Middle-class Shetland men could express their sense of Britishness in the Lerwick “Iberian Patriotic Society” founded in celebration of victories in the Peninsular War and encouraging “an animated contemplation of the virtuous efforts of the patriotic Spaniards” (*History* 6).

Historically, then, Shetland offered Campbell a model of national homogenisation through affective patriotism. But on closer inspection, both Harley’s patriotic sensibility and the reinforcement of his masculinity are oddly tangential to Shetland. Campbell edges out Shetland’s wider military connections to focus on Harley’s alone. The cultivation of his masculinity takes place at sea in his naval exploits and, graphically, in his whaling adventure in which the crew exclusively kill female whales and Harley (again) survives a shipwreck when his boat is dragged down by a particularly ferocious specimen who is suckling her young. In the naval episodes, the British sailor is evoked not only as a model for military toughness, but also

for proper sentiment that cannot flourish in the metropolis. Harley's uncle Andrew Irvingson, a rough and weather-beaten sailor, weeps tears of affection on meeting his infant nephew at the start of the novel, only to be turned away by Mrs Radington. In a mirroring scene at the novel's end, Harley holds Andrew in his arms as he dies in a naval engagement: "I was much affected, and hung fondly over the dying man" (2: 192).¹⁴ The family plot is resolved by its sublimation in the military story. In one sense, Harley's most durable relation is with his friend Lieutenant Campbell, with whom he shares a sentimental moment on the deck of their ship as they contemplate the moon together and reflect on the nature of love. Campbell is drowned shortly after, yet remains metonymically throughout the novel in Harley's memory as he erects a tomb to his friend and buys back a watch, stolen from the drowned body, at a highly inflated price.

Such ideal relations, however, seem possible only on board ship---the most stateless expression of a nationhood unbound by geographic actualities. On Shetland, in contrast to the seas, the direction of Harley's gendered development is not transparent and the role of place in the formation of proper, national sensibilities is unclear. The novel is unsure about making a clear narrative distinction between the life of the spoiled, hyper-cultured metropolitan and that of the uncorrupted, natural "primitive." Mediating between these two was the cultural work of novels such as Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818) which uses the divided family plot, of which *Harley Radington* is a variant, to explore the effect of regional difference on character, dividing a pair of twins between fashionable London and the rural Scottish Highlands. But where *Marriage* establishes a cultural hybridity, allowing the morally sound but unsophisticated Scottish twin to learn from polite society even as she rejects it, *Harley Radington* is less clear about the role of Shetland as a place that fosters primitive virtue.¹⁵

On the one hand, the decadent behavior of Harley's mother and his own over-refined sensibilities are contrasted with the humble but morally upright family she left behind. The commonsensical minister, Mr Grantly, comments: "Married again!--ho! ho!--Weel, weel, ye see, sir, though the Hansons poisoned ye wi' dirt, and did ither things forby that I've heard o', ye see they are decent folk in Zetland for a' that--ye'r ain uncle Eric, for instance. If that man, sir, had been born a nobleman or a prince, he would hae carried that dignity better than some in Europe" (1: 244).¹⁶ Yet Shetland demonstrates even more dangerous forms of gendered conduct than does London. Thomas Eversley, a rival suitor for the virtuous Ellen, is Harley's Shetland double, repeatedly described as effeminate ("his figure was fine, but rather too slender; and his face so effeminately delicate, that he might have passed, in female attire, for a pretty enough woman" [1: 242]). While the increasingly manly Harley survives three near-drownings, it takes just one to dispatch Eversley. Even more striking is the novel's anxious bifurcation of women on Shetland. The novel is very concerned with bad parenting in both sexes, offering examples of both the overindulgent mother, in the case of Mrs Radington, and the overly demanding father in the case of Mr Edenberg's father ("his children feared rather than loved him"[1: 255]). But female transgression is seen as the most destructive force within the family, and ungovernable passions as dangers lurking within the female constitution.

The beautiful Elspeth, eldest of the Hanson children, is marked out by Harley from the start: "I beheld, through the smoke, a face beaming with beauty and joyous youth, the golden hair floating in luxuriance around the fair neck and shoulders.--'Can ought so beautiful inhabit this infernal place?' said I" (1: 156). Elspeth blushes modestly at this, and many readers of 1821 would be forgiven for assuming that they were being introduced to the novel's heroine, and Harley's future wife. She seems the natural, or, in the terms of the national tale, "wild" product

of her locality, and her more refined beauty and modesty distinguish her from the dirt (her face seems untouched by the smoke through which Harley sees it), and rough manners that surround her, making her suitable marriage material. Harley concludes “I would disgrace no family by such an union” (1: 176-7), and, reading from within the tradition of the national tale, full of disguised, occluded or forgotten identities, it would even seem possible at this moment that the radiant Elspeth is not from the laboring classes by birth. Yet Campbell thwarts readerly expectations here. Harley overhears Elspeth herself sizing him up in mercenary terms as a likely suitor on the grounds that she would be an officer’s lady even though she cannot be sure he has much money, an incident that causes him to reflect on “the abominable deceit and wickedness of this family” (1: 179). The seemingly disproportionate violence of his reaction is reflected in the fate Campbell bestows upon poor Elspeth, who, jilted by her Shetland lover, goes mad with sexual jealousy and is fated to roam Shetland as “a cureless maniac” (2: 223). As in the case of Harley’s own Shetlandic mother (Elspeth’s aunt), sexual and mercenary desire are her undoing.

The actual heroine of the novel is the equally blonde but exaggeratedly virtuous Ellen Edenberg (the names of the two women insist that we should compare them), whom Harley meets first taking provisions to the poor, and next in church. The novel’s anxiety about female desire purges Ellen of it altogether: sexual passion is sublimated into spiritual love, Ellen berates Harley for speaking of his attraction to her before asking permission of her father, and the awkward question of what might happen when Ellen and Harley marry is obviated by her premature death. Even maternity is displaced onto the substitute figure of Grace Hamilton who has to put up with her first child with Harley being named Ellen Edenberg Radington.

The novel here seems uncertain about the relation of character to national character as if Shetland cannot quite be trusted to fulfil the nationalized romance plot. While the principal

female characters, Ellen and Elspeth, enact Campbell's anxious female bifurcation, other gender troubles are absorbed into the novel's local descriptions. Elspeth's internalized, isolating insanity is dissipated under a more ethnographic gaze. A scene in church, where a number of women suffer from "hysterics" and are carried out "shrieking dreadfully" (1: 239-40) is accepted by the rest of the congregation as an everyday occurrence with no lasting ill-effects. Elsewhere, the superstitious practices of some of the women who practise a kind of homeopathic magic (as J. G. Frazer would later call it) are offered as an interesting glimpse into Shetland society, and the misogynist Charles Rendall, who describes the supposed magic as "a devilish operation" (2: 10), is soon corrected by Harley's Uncle Eric Irvingson, the novel's main representative of the hardworking and honorable peasantry that might act as an antidote to the leisured corruption of the metropolis. A year later, in *The Pirate*, Scott was to make a very clear link between a belief in magic and female madness in the person of Norna, the self-appointed "pythonness" of Shetland. But for Campbell there is always a hesitation between the novel's delineation of moral character and its ethnographic mission to introduce Shetland to a novel-readership.

National Character

The tension between gender as the interiority of moral character, and the exteriority of ethnographic description, is particularly noticeable in Campbell's handling of laboring-class domestic life, the narrative of encounter that we can trace more widely in British fiction's internal colonisation of its regions. As soon as Harley wakes up after his shipwreck on the Shetland coast, he finds himself in the midst of what Ian Duncan has identified as the regional novel's key preoccupation in its establishing of social realism--the idea of dirt. Duncan has argued that "dirt is a structural principle of the rhetoric of regional specificity." Dirt is what

identifies a locality and, as Duncan says, it “provides the texture ... of a world of particular, localized phenomena, of sense impressions and material surfaces, that we associate with literary realism” (70). But at the same time, regional, local dirt exists on a moral plane, and is there to be cleaned up, or at least disavowed in the face of a “civilizing” idea of progress. Taking as an example Elizabeth Hamilton’s *Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808), Duncan describes the relationship between these planes as a “conundrum”: “The dirt that gets cleaned up is the stuff that gives the tale its savor, its humor, its distinctiveness--that constitutes, in opposition to its didactic program, its aesthetic enjoyment” (71). When Harley washes ashore and is rescued by the Hansons he is, predictably, appalled by the dirt of their cottage and paints a graphic picture from the first: “The air I breathed was loaded with every odour which thick smoke, excessive filthiness and total want of fresh air, could create. My bedclothes were---but, reader, spare me the relation! Enough to say that your imagination can scarcely exaggerate their wretchedness” (1: 135). Needless to say, the reader’s imagination has no need no exaggerate anything of this kind, as Harley supplies it with a great deal more information about dirt and wretchedness. The local and the dirty identify each other, as in this description of the Shetlander Gibby Burley, where local economic practices (here, knitting, an important part of the Shetland economy) are put on the same descriptive plane as Gibby’s filthy face:

He was busily employed knitting a pair of worsted gloves. The expression of his countenance was satirical: his nose and chin almost met, and a broad grin of derision and contempt distended his mouth, and shewed his large teeth, crumbling and blackened with corruption. His dirty matted beard was covered with snuff and the juice of tobacco. (1: 219)

Duncan argues that this mode of realism, which emerges with Scott, is part of the historical novel’s engagement with social and temporal progress: “Scott’s historicization of regional difference would make it conceptually available as ‘culture’ in the ethnographic sense: the way of life and value system of a localized society, embedded in the economic conditions of

a specific developmental stage” (71). That is, it is only in the relations of geography and history, local places and temporal change, that societies can be understood. In one way, as we have seen, *Harley Radington* performs just such a move. In locating the novel on Shetland Campbell allows hysteria to be seen through an ethnographic lens that recognizes its function within a larger society (the church here standing for a cross-section of the Shetland population, rather than suggesting any association with the enthusiasm of any particular sect).

Despite this ethnographic gaze, the turn to “culture” here cannot be read within the frame of the developmental stages of stadial history. In the paradigm of the national tale, the dangerous journey into the “primitive” is underwritten by the promise of civilization; the reader is encouraged to read teleologically in the conviction that these are *our* barbaric national antecedents who must inevitably be reformed by historical progress--a process of which we are the living proof. The divisions of Britain structure a form of uneven development that allows the comparison of “primitive” and “civilised” under the assurance of the progressive direction of history. Yet *Harley Radington* is not quite like this. It is not so much a case of uneven development, as one of no development at all--synchronic class difference replaces historical movement and, despite the graduated sequence of Harley’s encounters with his Shetland family, there is no suggestion that the barbaric Hansons will become the respectable Irvingsons, or that the enlightened Edenborgs will do much to advance the islands economically. Dirt is not so much cleaned up as left in place, as if that place cannot obviously be integrated into a larger structure of either temporal progress or spatial nationalism. The unassimilable character of Shetland is epitomized in a strange character whom Harley encounters:

As I proceeded slowly along, I discerned a faint light glimmering at a distance; on drawing nearer, I saw a strange figure arise as from out of the earth, and the light which it appeared to carry was suddenly extinguished. I remained quiet, to observe its motions. It

slowly approached, and exhibited the appearance of a monstrous ram walking on its hind legs. (2: 55)

This is Nick Luggie. Both human and bestial, man and sheep, he is absolutely autochthonic and material--he "arises as from out of the earth." Yet Luggie is also an imaginary and supernatural character to the Shetlanders: "He lived, nobody knew where; he was believed to dwell in a splendid palace, in the bowels of a certain hill, with the fairies; to this place the credulous people carried him their offerings of money, and the various productions of their farms and fisheries" (2: 75). Luggie remains a mysterious, uncategorisable creature, and, taking Harley to his underground den, he requests him not to ask anything of him or speak of him to anyone: "this I expect, that ye'll speir naethen about me nor my calling--it's nae business o' yours--I depend upon ye'r honour that ye'll say naethen about me in thir Isles o' Zetland" (2: 57). Harley respects this request, and Luggie plays no further part in the novel (although we are told he leaves Shetland at a later date). He is both absolutely of the earth and a creature of story, yet one cannot be a sign of the other; what is most real about Shetland cannot pass into the realm of the typical.

A ghostly narrative structure haunts *Harley Radington*. It is as if the novel repeatedly tries to establish a pattern of progress, synthesis and resolution. Harley, effeminate and morally degraded, moves from London to the wild peripheries of Britain. Here he is masculinized by his encounter with the primitive but uncorrupted natives, and his overdeveloped sensitivities are developed into a proper sensibility which in turn civilizes the Shetlanders, drawing them back into a Britain founded on sensibility and military imperialism. The novel is *almost* like this, yet not quite. Shetland cannot provide the catalyst that would effect such a transformation and its geographies betray its unwillingness to settle upon the narrative of progress. Ina Ferris argues of Scott's *Waverley* that land may be readable where its inhabitants may prove recalcitrant

(“Translation” 215) and Campbell’s half-adoption of this motif demonstrates *Harley Radington*’s uncertain correspondence with genre-based geographies.

The novel has two competing schemes of improvement--the mis-ruled Otters’ Island, and the edenic Mora. On Otters’ Island, the scheming Sanders Lovegold has decided to convert his property into “Grovely Island” (a punning name, suggestive of both the groves of landscaping--ridiculous on treeless Shetland--and the grovelling Lovegold expects of his tenants). Lovegold’s attempts at bettering himself are dismissed as “some preposterous alterations in the house and gardens, under the name of improvements” (1: 249). Needless to say, these improvements do not improve the lot of the population, who suffer under Lovegold’s bad stewardship of the land: “A few miserable huts, with small patches of cultivated ground, enclosed by low, broken, turf dikes, were scattered along the coast. Dogs of various sizes saluted me with loud barking and howling as I approached these habitations, and squalid half-naked children, and withered old women, came out to gaze at me as I passed” (1: 199).

We might expect Lovegold and Edenborg to represent the national tale’s concern with what Katie Trumpener calls a “choice ... between good paternalism and bad feudalism” (139). Sanders’ career recalls that of Jason Quirk in Edgeworth’s *Castle Rackrent* (1800)--the son of a servant, he worms his way into the confidence of a landed family, the Eversleys of Glensetter, to his own financial advantage:

Lovegold found means to prevail upon the young laird to make him steward, or, as they called him, *factor*, upon the estate; the consequence was, that by covering his own designs and depredations, and encouraging his master’s extravagance, with the most consummate hypocrisy, he, in a few years, enriched himself, while Glensetter was on the brink of ruin. (1: 247-48)

Or we might see in the dogs and squalid children of Lovegrove’s island an echo of Tully-Veolan in *Waverley* (1814), a scene of social mismanagement that Scott’s novel, albeit vaguely, hopes to ameliorate in its vision of future national unity. But really *Harley Radington* is operating

according not to two different political economies but to two different discourses: the language of agricultural improvement and the aesthetics of landscape. Although the reader is told that “Mr Edenborg had greatly improved the natural beauties of his romantic isle” (1: 261), it is not very clear exactly what he has done to effect this improvement. A social analysis is subsumed into an aesthetic one and the explanation of Mora’s superiority to Grovely Island is to be found in the picturesque, passing over the specifics of Shetland’s archipelagic economy: “the island ... was agreeably diversified by swelling hills and fairy valleys; and here and there a little hut, with its kale-yard and cornyard, was scattered, giving life and beauty to the romantic scenery of the whole” (1: 254-50). This is improvement disembodied from social and economic progress. Like the transcendent Ellen, the Edenborgs’ “romantic” estate offers an impossible resolution to the novel’s identification of social problems.

This is another symptom of the way *Harley Radington* works. Despite the many forays into existing narrative modes, and what the reader might well assume to be Campbell’s interest in drawing a new region into the geographical zone of the national tale, the novel is ultimately unwilling, or unable, to push Shetland to the point of national inclusion, whether bad or good. Lovegold is not the harbinger of the new, unscrupulous, commercial middle-class of Jason Quirke. The Edenborgs do not figure as the sum of progress; rather, they remain oddly a-temporal and by the end of the novel most of them are dead.

Harley’s experiences serve to make Shetland both continuous *and* discontinuous with the nation. Just as the discourse of agricultural enlightenment excludes Shetland while the discourse of the picturesque encompasses it, so the novel operates in two quite different temporalities. First, it sets out a consistent historical chronology so that we can trace Harley’s navel career and the success of the British Navy in some crucial battles. This time scheme has some clear

functions. It serves to masculinize Harley, while maintaining his sentimental attachment to Lieutenant Campbell and later to Uncle Andrew, and to draw Shetland (up to a point) into the politics of militaristic Union and affective patriotism. The novel is precise in its historical and temporal pointers, giving both the names of actual naval battles and commanders, and the fictional dates of birth of all Harley's maternal relatives, which he discovers in a family bible. Harley is 23 at the battle of Quiberon Bay, making him born in 1736, and Campbell updates us with his age from time to time so we can place the following conversation in about 1752-53, at a time of anti-Scottish propaganda in England:

“My country indeed! I will defy any body to say I am a Scotchwoman--from my speech, my manners, or any thing about me. You might as well say I was an Irishwoman.”

“Why, Mrs. Radington, you are nevertheless, by .your own account, a Scotchwoman born and bred. Why deny it ?”

“You know very well, sir, for I. have told you a thousand times, I hate to be thought a Scotchwoman; every body here laughs at the Scotch, and despises them.” (1: 28)

The reader is here invited to review these earlier prejudices in the light of the association of Scots with British Military victories in the intervening period and to connect Harley's success with more recent triumphs during the Napoleonic period. Yet this history is consigned to an external position in the novel's inner temporality. History is what goes on outside the novel, and Campbell explicitly situates her readers in a way that emphasizes this. After giving the reader a number of pointers throughout the novel to his participation in the Seven Years War, Harley comments: “I did not return to England till peace was concluded. I leave the naval transactions of these two years to the reader, to find them in the regular history of that period, and shall in the following chapter proceed with my own story” (2: 189-90). We are invited to think of this “regular history” as an inexorable forward movement, objectively recorded, while Harley's

personal experiences occupy a different kind of temporality and a different narrative, denoted as “my own story.”

That temporality is bound up in Harley’s experiences in Shetland. For all Campbell’s gestures towards national harmonies bred through sympathetic engagement, Shetland is left outside the scope of historical progress. The “animated contemplation” of the Iberian and Lerwick patriotic societies are relocated to the ships of the British Navy. As a region of Britain, Shetland exists ethnographically but ahistorically. Despite the names of the families and places there is almost no reference to the Norse past that Scott would find so compelling for *The Pirate*. The end of the novel stages a retreat from Shetland altogether. So far from transforming their land into an economic success, tourist destination and moral center, the Edenborgs die out. The increasingly self-satisfied and wealthy Harley does not return (other than to witness the decline of the Edenborgs). The novel’s lack of confidence in any of its more localized resolutions is captured in the fate of Harley’s best friend, Lieutenant Campbell, who drowns in the original shipwreck. Harley goes to elaborate lengths to erect a marble headstone for Campbell, which he has to have sent up from Leith (Edinburgh’s port). When he finally returns to Shetland, the gravestone has completely vanished: “One winter night, the storm rose, and the waves came roaring in their strength and fury, and tore away the frail memorial. I saw the spot where it had been, but no remains of tomb or of grave--all had been swept into the ocean” (2: 223-4). The novel’s sentimental military nationalism, in which it had seemed to invest so much, cannot be sustained or even memorialized by Shetland, which now becomes the scene of loss and absence.

In his marriage to Grace, Harley embraces a kind of non-localized domesticity that was introduced early in the novel by Grace’s mother, who claims an affective reality that leaves behind national character altogether.

I have lived for some years in the flat, tame country of the industrious, phlegmatic Dutch--I have lived in the smoke of the city of London, among cockneys--and latterly I have resided for many years in one of the most uninteresting parts of England, as to natural scenery. What has induced me? what has supported me?--Love--pure affection for the worthiest, the best of men--the object of my first love, the husband of my choice. When he is with me, all places please. (1: 62)

For Harley, too, domestic life provides a more important context than regional experience. After his last visit to Ellen's grave, he determines never to visit Shetland again: "I was a husband and a father; a place where recollections and regrets ... were cherished and awakened, was not for me to remain at" (2: 225). Juliet Shields traces a response in the Scottish novel to the post-war changes in Scotland's economic conditions that makes a strong link between domestic, family affection and national identification:

Scottish national tales depict early nineteenth-century Britain as a nationless state, a mere collection of shared political institutions lacking any unifying national sentiment. They find an alternative model of community in the family, an organic society bound by ties of affection rather than the "unnatural" bonds of economic and political interest. ("Family Roots" 922)

Harley Radington breaks this association. Shetland is abandoned because it cannot be changed by its inhabitants nor incorporated into a national totality by visitors to it however they might feel. Despite its proliferation of interconnected Shetland families, the novel discards the idea of national identity altogether, preferring a generalized version of cosmopolitan domesticity.

Geography and Cryptography

It would be easy to conclude that Campbell's abandoning of the local at the end of the novel presents a failure of nerve to establish Shetland in the national tale genre. But the novel has a more sophisticated, and also a more playful grasp of the nature of geographical difference.

Campbell's annalistic structure, and habit of dealing with her almost unworkable multiplicity of characters by simply killing them off, disguise a more subtle sense of place. Beneath *Harley*

Radington's overt alliances with and adaptations of recognisable narrative structures, is a sense that geography is not a clear system of reference in the first place, and that the nation cannot so easily be grasped by the generic maps of fiction. As memorials are washed away, Harley's friends die and the landscapes lose their local specificity, the novel hints that forms of personal memory, rather than ethnographic record, are what constitute place. In an early chapter, Mrs Radington is caught out referring to the islands of Foula and Fair Isle and is in danger of giving away her regional origins. She protests her ignorance: "I have heard them spoken of as outlandish places, where the people are particularly odd. But I am no cryptographer, you know" (1: 29). Her husband corrects this to "geographer" and the reader duly notes Mrs Radington's attempts to encrypt her own national identity. But the terms "geography" and "cryptography" prove to be more closely related in the novel than they may appear to be at this point, and Mrs Radington is right to point out that one might substitute the terms "without being a fool" (1: 29).

The geography of Shetland itself works against the idea of the circumscribed nation. Shetland disrupts the national tale not only because it does not correspond with its ethnographic vision of Celts, but also because it complicates British geography.¹⁷ The archipelagic islands remind the reader that the United Kingdom is also an archipelago--a plural, fractal geography that complicates the notion of a bipartite center / circumference structure. The notion of the state as a single, dominant landmass is disturbed--"Mainland" here refers to the largest of the Shetland Islands (2: 120, 32), the locals speak of "the continent of Scotland" (1: 170, 193). Harley's whaling adventures remind the reader that the North of Great Britain is also at the South of an international industry. Far from reinforcing Britain's fortress-like insularity, the northern archipelago renders the nation porous, or continuous, through trade, with other nations. As we have already noted, the British Navy--so important to the novel--is oddly detached from

Shetland. Samuel Hibbert, author of an early nineteenth-century account, confidently asserts the protective geography of the northern islands: “The cluster of Islands and Rocks which, under the name of SHETLAND, form the northern barrier of the British Kingdom” (85). But the novel does not take up the idea of a defensive Northern border--Lerwick’s Fort Charlotte, which had been rebuilt in 1781, now lies in “ruinous remains” (2: 37).

The novel hints at forms of identity that are national, yet not place-bound. When Harley wakes up in the Hansons’ cottage he asks his aunt Catherine (as she will turn out to be) where he is in national terms:

“And where am I, my good woman ?--in any part of the British dominions?”

“I’m no muckle ’quanted wi’ names o’ places, and I ken naethin’ about British ’minions; ye’r I’ Shetland, if ye’ve heard tell o’ sickan a part.”

“Shetland!--Well, Shetland, or Zetland, is a part of Scotland.”

“Ye’r a’ mistaen, my lamb; Shetland was never a part o’ Scotland i’ the days o’ it; Shetland stands alane by its sell, like a peerie air o’ pottage in a kap o’ milk, and never touches Scotland, north or south, east or west: ye’ll no mak’ a fule o’ me. I had a brither wis a great travelled man, and kent every place in the world--ay, and degrees, and latitudes, and faund out the longitude himsell.” (1: 157)

Shetland here occupies a doubled geography that defies conventional maps. On the one hand, the Shetlanders have a unique, separate insular status, yet on the other, this status only becomes apparent to those who have an education or experience beyond it. Catherine knows that Shetland is separate from Scotland not through any innate understanding but because her sailor brother understands navigation. Shetland’s difference is thus part of a global modernity of latitude and longitude that sees the world in uniform terms--the singular status that Catherine claims for it is produced by the very forms of globalisation that seem to lie outside it.

In the same way, the novel almost obtrusively connects Shetland as the local, the specific and the natural, with a global economy. Otters are the sign of a kind of cryptographic geography

in the novel. They stand for Shetland in the sphere of national prejudice (Mrs Radington is horrified at her own accidental reference to otters and seals [1: 30]), redeemed by the return to nature of Otters' island after its brief period as Grovely Island. But they also remind us that Harley is the son not only of a Shetlander but also of a London tobacco merchant--that most global of trades--when Andrew, Harley's Uncle, gives the boy an otter-skin tobacco pouch to which he becomes very attached. The otter becomes a secret sign circulating through the novel and--with Andrew--the globe, to link its constituent locations not through the narrative structure of the national tale, but through a dis-located symbolism that ties Shetland to no particular place at all.

The novel also recognizes tensions between the singularity of local attachment, and the relativity of geography as a discourse. Shetland is understood not just as the other of metropolitan London, but, as Catherine Irvingson's views above suggest, in a more complex triangulation that comprises Shetland, Scotland, and England. Scotland performs a double function. On the one hand it acts as a kind of portal for its original readers, buffering the almost wholly unfamiliar Shetland with a more predictable locality and one already familiar from other novels. This Scotland is conventionally established early in the novel by Mrs Hamilton (Harley's future mother-in-law) whose encomium to her birthplace is laden with romantic notions of home: "Scotland, the dear land of mists and mountains, of forests and lochs!-- Scotland, the dear land of warm and honest hearts!" (1: 61). Harley's guide in the early stages of his residence on Shetland, and the novel's nearest equivalent to a cultural mediator, is the Scottish minister, Mr Grantly, generally a representative of common sense in the novel. Yet, on the other hand, the instrumental function of Scotland renders it purely conventional, alongside the social realism of dirt-ridden, superstitious Shetland. And this proves to be the only possible

resolution of the romance narrative. The dislocation of Shetland from national character means that Campbell selects a more conventional heroine from the novel's generic affinities. The marriage plot turns out, in the end, to be about the national recuperation of Grace Hamilton, always something of a cipher in the novel, as Scottish. When we first meet her at the beginning of the novel she is, in the opinion of Mrs Radington, one of the "frightful, red-haired *Scotch* daughters" (1: 28) that Mr Hamilton is threatening to marry off to her son. By the end, when Harley has abandoned Shetland, Grace comes to stand for a Scotland that serves as tourist attraction and scene of domesticity: "in this country of romantic beauty, and amid these amiable friends, I received the hand of Grace Hamilton" (2: 220).

The relativity of the novel's geography also informs its ideas about language. Like all national and regional tales, *Harley Radington* is an act of translation, literally so in the unusually comprehensive glossary that Campbell supplies. Not only Shetlandic but also Scots terms are deemed foreign, marking the reader as English-speaking. Dialect is now preserved as a curiosity in the era of the dictionary and the emergence of standardized English.¹⁸ But Campbell has a more sophisticated interest in language and its semantic morphology. Harley comes upon the phrase "to lose the heart," which he supposes to mean to fall in love, but which to the Shetlanders means something different:

"You said you had lost your heart, Mr. Rendall; I understood that to be the import of your words."

"... Why, sir, we mean by losing our hearts here, that we are in the hills; in other words, we are consumptive, our hearts and lungs are consumed away, not by love, I assure you, but by hatred, supposed to be the work of malignant beings that live in the hills, and have the power of afflicting poor mortals in this manner; and we have men and old women who cure this disease by a devilish operation, which I will not describe, for it puts me in a heat to speak of it."

"I thank you, sir, for your information, but must confess, I but half understand it yet." (2: 10)

This is not so much an act of translation as an encounter with linguistic difference. The reader is not being introduced to new or strange worlds and their correspondent words--the combined ethnographic and linguistic function of the glossary--but to alternative metaphors generated by the *same* words, "lose the heart,"¹⁹ and thus to different ways of recording social and emotional life. The novel is here poised between ethnographic difference and a linguistic relativism that cannot be properly translated but only, in Harley's words, half understood.

On this reading, Shetland is not so much the location that fails to win a place in the national tale, as the sign of the instability, or fictiveness of place itself. By the end of a novel which repeatedly uses the motif of doubled characters and places, Shetland has become the ghostly double of Harley's domestic cosmopolitanism. If, for Harley, all places can finally be home, then Shetland is the place that can be produced by any narrative mode while never allowing itself to be defined by any of them. In this sense, then, *Harley Radington* is not so much an interesting outlier to the national tale, as a novel which confronts the difficulty of marrying the national center to its supposed peripheries. It is an experimental national tale that shows how established generic pathways cannot always serve as a paradigm to homogenize a United Kingdom.

¹ My translation. For de Fauconpret, see F. C. Green.

² Campbell's *Poems* appeared in Inverness in 1811 with a second edition, adding further poems, published in London in 1816. The review of the first edition in the *Critical Review* stresses her perceived remoteness from any cultural centre: "The contents of this little volume certainly do great credit to the young authoress, especially when we consider the very few advantages her genius could have had in a region so remote as the Shetland isles. A melancholy tenderness and

pleasing simplicity run through these poems, which cannot fail to arrest the attention of the reader, who will not fail to approve the warmth of heart and delicacy of feeling of the young and amiable writer” (214-15). Campbell struggled with overwhelming family debts incurred by her deceased father. Her motive for writing a novel seems to have been financial; she wrote to Walter Scott: “A. K. Newman allowed me 10 sets of the Work for the copyright. He has, however, promised, to purchase a ‘Tale, four volumes’ from me at Christmas for money, if he is anything successful in the sale of this. I have sold some of the sets here, and would sell more in time, than I am Mistress of. Yet I am convinced that Mr Newman has given as much as it is worth. – Necessity, not talents nor inclination, have made me take up the pen into a most unworthy and unfit hand” (MS Letter from D. P. Campbell). There is no evidence of this second novel ever having appeared. In 1841 Campbell moved to London and made the acquaintance of Joanna Baillie, who tactfully refuses a copy of *Harley Radington* on the grounds she has already read it (*Collected Letters* 2: 1159). Baillie mentions a projected further volume of poems for which Campbell had started to secure subscriptions, although the volume does not seem to have been printed (*Collected Letters* 1: 76).

³ Despite the abundance of Scottish-set novels, Sarah Green’s Robert Butler exaggerates when he says: “we are often taken to starve amongst the half-savages of the Orkney or Shetland Isles” (1: 48). For the printing and circulation of historical novels see Stevens.

⁴ *The Pirate*, set on both Orkney and Shetland, is a very different kind of novel. As the title might suggest, Scott was more interested in piracy than in naval heroism, and the novel expands on two of his keenest interest in Shetland from the 1814 Lighthouse Tour—the possibility of agricultural improvement in the islands and the archaeological record of “Picts” and Scandinavian history, which Campbell barely mentions.

⁵ Shetland produced no further novelists until Jessie Saxby (1842-1940) among whose novels *Rock-bound: a Story of the Shetland Isles* (1877) is perhaps the most interesting.

⁶ Despite early nineteenth-century readers' tendency to lump together parts of Ireland and Scotland as homogeneously wild and Celtic there were, of course, significant cultural differences which are very helpfully explored in Ó Gallchoir.

⁷ For an account of sea travel to and from Shetland, see Flinn. For early visitors to Shetland, including Scott, see Simpson.

⁸ Trumpener argues for a clear division between the national tale and the historical novel that occupies a distinct moment in literature history: "The national tale before *Waverley* maps developmental stages topographically, as adjacent worlds in which characters move and then choose between; the movement of these novels is geographical rather than historical. In contrast, the historical novel ... finds its focus in the way one developmental stage collapses to make room for the next and cultures are transformed under the pressure of historical events" (141).

⁹ The term was originally coined by Robert Tracy.

¹⁰ For a sensitive parsing of the various genres of "tale" of the period and the difficulty of extracting a portable narrative paradigm from national tales, see Burgess. On regionalism see Bellamy.

¹¹ See also Beesemyer.

¹² The printing of this document was the work of Thomas Irvine of Midbrake, a Shetlander, who was at the time a teacher in the Bermondsey Deaf and Dumb Asylum.

¹³ Campbell uses Chalmers's poem "The Rose of the Rock" as the motto for volume 2, chapter 12.

¹⁴ The novel here perhaps recalls the reunion of Smollett's Roderick Random with his kindly sailor uncle Tom Bowling: "The tears gushed down my cheeks, I stood motionless and silent for some time; at length, recovering the use of speech, I exclaimed, 'Gracious God! Mr. Bowling!'" (232).

¹⁵ For an important study of this novel see Shields, *Sentimental Literature* 129-36.

¹⁶ A Lowland Scot, Grantly represents the older male advisor that, as Claire Connolly observes, often figures in the Irish national tale. Grantly corresponds to two of Connolly's categories: 'the connections [that] wild Irish boys form with various suitable and less suitable girls are often secondary to other kinds of social relations: with wise clergymen, enlightened Scotsmen and formidable old ladies' (xxii).

¹⁷ I discuss the strangeness of the cultural geography of Shetland at greater length in Fielding, 130-60.

¹⁸ On this point see Sorensen.

¹⁹ Campbell's description of casting hearts was included in Hibbert's *Description of the Shetland Islands* 603. Hibbert prosaically claims that the sickness described is dyspepsia.

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